

but truly reached out to the international community and respected the rights of all human beings and made an effort to understand the grievances that built up in the ranks of these madmen terrorists that allowed them to carry out their savage attacks as they did on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. That is a complicated task.

The world is looking to us. We are the greatest power on the face of the Earth—economically, politically, and militarily. They are looking to see how we respond to this. If next week we adopt amendments here that walk away from international criminal courts, and we just go in militarily and don't understand what is behind some of these reactions we are seeing in these places, then I think history will judge us harshly. So our first responsibility is to protect our citizens—not just the generation we presently represent, but the generations we also represent who are yet unborn whose very fate may be determined by the actions we take in the coming days.

I have no doubt that President George Walker Bush and his team are not only competent but are dedicated and have the ability to lead us. They have a Congress and a nation that wants to follow them.

I only urge that they act wisely and not cut deals and make arrangements for short-term success that could do our Nation some very long-term harm.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana is recognized.

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COOPERATIVE THREAT REDUCTION

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, let me begin by thanking my colleague for those eloquent and passionate and insightful remarks, and for his extraordinary leadership, not only in this time but as he shows throughout all of our work in Congress. I thank him for his guidance on this issue which is so important. I look forward to joining him on this issue when we reconvene next week.

Mr. President, as the Senator from Connecticut so eloquently spoke about for the last half hour or so—about the importance of alliances at this time, the importance of international alliances, the extraordinary opportunity that has been given to us out of this tragedy to build a new framework of mutual trust and mutual cooperation for the benefit of all citizens of this world who love freedom, who hope for a better life, who want only for themselves, their children, and their grandchildren to live free of oppression, free from fear, free from hunger, free from want, it is really an extraordinary time.

I want to acknowledge the leadership that I have seen in this body in a way that I never thought I would. I am certain that most people in my State and in many States don't completely really understand yet the extraordinary length to which the Members of this body, both Democrats and Republicans, have worked to overcome some very difficult issues in trying to work so closely with the President, and have done this in a remarkable way under his tremendous leadership, as the Senator from Connecticut also pointed out.

I think we have made great progress in the last 2 weeks, since September 11. We are on the right track and at the right pace. We just have to steady our course and continue to support our President and debate where we need to and not give up our right to judgment, and do it in a way that will strengthen our country and will honor the spirit that Americans everywhere are showing us around the world and move forward to win this war.

I want to spend a few minutes before we close today speaking about an important part of this effort, an important part of the Defense authorization bill, which we have been engaged in debating now under the great leadership of Senator LEVIN from Michigan and the Senator from Virginia, Senator WARNER.

In my mind, the cold war finally ended at 8:45 a.m. eastern time on Tuesday, September 11. Literally, up until that moment, this Congress had engaged in something akin to shadow-boxing.

We swung our arms about in search of enemies, and in search of a unifying purpose to our national security. Yet in life, it is often tragedy and crisis that lifts the fog from our eyes. Suddenly, we see the world with crystal-like clarity. We understand better that which is trivial and that which is absolutely essential. We look back on our priorities before this crisis, and I think many of us have been shaking our heads wondering: What could we possibly have been thinking?

One truth that should now be evident to America's collective world view is that we need a strong and practical relationship with Russia. There is a bond between the United States and Russia that defies coincidence. Of course, we share the common experience of the cold war. It was not a pleasant experience, it was not a good experience, but it was an experience that we shared. Now it appears we will share the experience of fighting in Afghanistan.

Russia itself has been attacked by terrorists, supported by elements of the Arab Afghan army, the very force that we trained during the cold war and now has unleashed its terror upon us.

In short, our countries have a history of lashing out at each other. Yet when we do, we inevitably hurt ourselves. It is an instinct we learned during the cold war, but we must unlearn that in-

stinct to succeed in this silent war. Hopefully, on September 11, we closed for good that chapter in our relationship.

There are many things that make me proud about this Defense authorization bill that we have been debating and will hopefully conclude that debate when we reconvene next week, but one of the things that makes me proudest about this year's Defense authorization bill is that even before the events of the 11th, we understood the importance of our relationship with Russia. Senators Nunn and LUGAR deserve the thanks of the whole of the American public for their extraordinary foresight. They realized that at the end of the cold war, in the tremendous vacuum that was created, we needed to be aggressive in forming a new relationship with Russia. It would not be a relationship based on fear, deception, and suspicion. Rather, it would be a relationship grounded in our common history, our common roles as great powers, and our mutual interest in establishing a world where our citizens could flourish.

The only way forward to this goal is up the trail blazed by Senators Nunn and LUGAR. The Cooperative Threat Reduction Program sponsored by the Department of Defense has been under assault in this Congress since I joined the Armed Services Committee. It was derided as welfare to ex-Communists. We slashed and hamstringed the programs, claiming to react to mismanagement.

With the hard work of my friend and now partner, Mr. ROBERTS, the Senator from Kansas, we reversed that trend this year. The subcommittee mark for the Emerging Threats included full funding for the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program at \$403 million. Of these funds, \$50 million is dedicated to chemical demilitarization of the Soviet Union.

The facts before us should be crystal clear to everyone. There should be no more urgent priority for this country than to secure and destroy the chemical, biological, and nuclear stockpiles of the former Soviet Union.

On that exact point, there was a beautifully written op-ed piece by former Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia. I ask unanimous consent to print the op-ed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Atlanta Journal-Constitution,
Sept. 16, 2001]

LIVING IN A NEW ERA OF INSECURITY (By Sam Nunn)

The bitter events of last week will never pass from the American memory. But whether they are remembered as an isolated, unrepeatable horror or the first nightmare in a new era of insecurity may well depend on what we do now.

The terrorists who planned and carried out the attacks of Sept. 11 showed there is no limit to the number of innocent lives they are willing to take. Their capacity for killing was restricted only by the power of their weapons.

As we strengthen airport and airplane security, we must automatically assume that the next attack against America will be like the one we just experienced.

Though we may not yet know with certainty which group sponsored these attacks we do know that Osama bin Laden declared in 1998 that acquiring weapons of mass destruction is "a religious duty." This statement should not be taken lightly. We have had a look at the face of terrorist warfare in the 21st century, and it gives us little hope that if these groups gained control of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons they would hesitate to use them.

As America prepares a response, we must build a new framework for national security that protects us from the full range of new dangers we face.

Ten years ago a communist empire broke apart. Its legacy: 30,000 nuclear warheads; more than 1,000 tons of highly enriched uranium; 150 tons of plutonium; 40,000 tons of chemical weapons; 4,500 tons of anthrax and tens of thousands of scientists who know how to make weapons and missiles but don't know how to feed their families. Russia's dysfunctional economy and eroded security systems have undercut controls on these weapons, materials and know-how and increased the risk that they may flow to hostile forces.

Our nation understands from heart-shattering experience that America is targeted for terrorist attack. But we do not fully grasp how Russia's loose controls over weapons, materials and know-how dramatically increase our vulnerability to an attack with nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. In 1998, an employee at Russia's premier nuclear weapons laboratory was arrested for trying to sell documents on weapons design to agents of Iraq and Afghanistan. Just this year, former Bin Laden associate admitted to a federal grand jury his role in a plot to purchase uranium.

Threats of terrorism and threats of weapons of mass destruction are not separate but interrelated and reinforcing. The world's security now depends in great part on who is faster and smarter—those trying to get weapons, materials and know-how, or those trying to stop them.

To reduce these threats to our own security, we have—for the past 10 years—helped the Russians secure weapons and weapons materials to prevent theft, convert nuclear weapons facilities to civilian purposes and employ their weapons scientists in peaceful pursuits. But we need to do much more.

Russia itself has experienced terrible terrorist attacks in recent years, and its outpouring of support in the past few days indicates there may be a real opportunity for enhanced U.S.-Russia cooperation.

Early this year, a distinguished bipartisan task force declared loose weapons, materials and know-how in Russia "the most urgent unmet national security threat to the United States," and called for a fourfold funding increase to reduce these threats. We need to reflect this sound advice in our budget priorities. Keeping weapons of mass destruction out of terrorists' hands is either a priority or an afterthought. If it is an afterthought, after what?

The tragic events of this week have given us a rare opportunity to lead a world coalition against terrorism. NATO, for the first time in 52 years, has formally declared that the alliance has been attacked, and 19 democracies are now committed to join America in hitting back. We also have other partners in Europe Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa.

To carry out the Bush Administration's declaration of war against terrorism, we must:

Prevent terrorist groups from getting nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, weapons materials and know-how.

Eliminate terrorist cells wherever they are, including in the United States.

Enlist the support of our coalition partners to destroy the infrastructure and cut off the funding of terrorist groups wherever they are.

Make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who knowingly harbor them, as President Bush has said.

Take every feasible and reasonable step in our military planning to avoid inflicting large numbers of civilian casualties that will only sow the seeds of the next generation of fanatical, suicidal terrorists.

Make it clear by our words and actions that our war is against terrorist, not a war against Islam at home or abroad.

Continue to address the underlying conflicts and condition around the world that breed fanatical hatred and terrorism—probably our most difficult challenge.

Promote and enhance the diplomacy, intelligence gathering and cooperation that are our first line of defense.

In implementing this strategy, we must make sure that we don't undercut the international cooperation we need to protect ourselves against a wide range of dangers.

The United States cannot identify and eliminate terrorist groups, destroy their funding and support, apply pressure to rogue regimes, secure dangerous materials, limit the spread of weapons of mass destruction and gather intelligence without the support and active cooperation of allies and former adversaries. While we must be prepared to act alone if necessary, if we are going to go after terrorists before they come to our shores, we must have partners abroad.

We must develop a comprehensive defense against the full range of threats, based on relative risk and supported by strong alliances so that the pain of today will not be known by the children of tomorrow.

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, I want to quote a few sentences from this beautifully written piece. He says:

The terrorists who planned and carried out the attacks of Sept. 11 showed there is no limit to the number of innocent lives they are willing to take. Their capacity for killing was restricted only by the power of their weapons.

Though we may not yet know with certainty which group sponsored these attacks, we do know that Osama bin Laden declared in 1998 that acquiring weapons of mass destruction is "a religious duty." This statement should not be taken lightly. We have had a look at the face of terrorist warfare in the 21st century, and it gives us little hope that if these groups gained control of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons they would not hesitate to use them.

As America prepares a response, we must build a new framework for national security that protects us from the full range of the new dangers we face.

Mr. President, we cannot, we should not try, it would be foolhardy to begin to try to build this framework without a strong partnership with Russia.

We know of nearly 400 incidents to purchase or smuggle this material since the end of the cold war. We can safely assume that for every purchase or smuggling operation we stopped—and we stopped many—others succeeded. Yet the technology and framework for locking down these stockpiles is within our grasp.

Today we fund the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program at \$403 million a year. We spent 100 times that amount of money in 1 day to respond to the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

Let me repeat that. Today we fund this Cooperative Threat Reduction Program at \$403 million a year. We spent 100 times that amount in 1 day to deal with the crisis that hit us at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon 2 weeks ago.

Keep in mind that this is the immediate cost only to the stabilization, rescue, and cleanup of these sites. We will be spending billions more.

Now imagine the cleanup costs that result from an attack by a weapon of mass destruction. As horrific and as heartwrenching and as merciless as were the attacks and the casualties from those attacks on September 11, a weapon of mass destruction promises to be a whole scale of magnitude worse. The devastation could be beyond our imagination.

Yet there have been many reports on this subject. The Baker-Cutler report notes that we need to spend, in their estimation, nearly \$30 billion to address just the nuclear side of this equation over the next 8 to 10 years. At our current rate of \$3 billion a year, that would require a tenfold increase.

Furthermore, it is my opinion that we cannot wait 8 to 10 years, and we must address all weapons of mass destruction in a more direct, focused, urgent, and intelligent way.

All of this is a long way of saying that Russia's stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction constitute a vital national security interest second to none. No resource should be spared, no bureaucratic hurdle left standing, no diplomatic initiative left unexplored to eliminate the risk these weapons represent.

The preamble of our Constitution makes it incumbent on this Congress to "provide for the common defence . . . and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity." If we take the lessons learned from September 11 and destroy these weapons, we will have done ourselves and our posterity a great service.

As we embark on this extended and silent war against terrorism, I believe that nonproliferation represents one of the true front lines. If we lose the momentum necessary to destroy these stockpiles now, the outcome of this war must be in doubt.

I know the American people understand the heavy costs we will have to bear. This is surely one of those costs, but I am confident, because I have seen on the faces of Americans everywhere—people in my home State, children who have stopped to talk with me, friends who have called, strangers who have walked in my office and left notes and missives, telephone calls I have received—that the American people are ready, they are united, they are willing, strong enough, and without fear to accomplish this goal.

I believe there are a variety of answers to that question when people ask: When will we know this war has been won? I will say this: One of the best indications of whether or not we are winning this war is our success in cooperative threat reduction. The struggle is on, but this is an objective that freedom-loving people must take and hold.

I have every confidence the Members of this body, both Democrats and Republicans, regardless of their views, will understand, and with new insight will appreciate, because of the tragedy that is before us, the urgency of this subject. I am looking forward to doing my part, with other committees that obviously have influence in this area, to work across party lines, to work with House leaders, to work with men and women who have served before in this body, who have quite an expertise in this area, as well as our private sector, think-tanks, our universities, to put all of our best thoughts and efforts in action and to be focused as a laser so we can provide for the common defense of this Nation, the common defense of civilizations and freedom-loving people around the world, and that Americans will do what Americans do best, which is to put our best foot forward with clarity, with commitment, with purpose, with the practical way that Americans move forward to take on this task and to do it well. I am confident that as we do, we will be successful in this endeavor.

THE SEZNA FAMILY

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I apologize to my colleagues and to my constituents for being absent from the Senate this morning, and especially for missing the vote on the Military Construction Appropriations bill. I was attending one of the, tragically, many funeral services being conducted across the country.

If my colleagues will permit me a point of personal privilege, this funeral service had a special and profound impact on me, for the victim was a brilliant young man who was the oldest son, and best friend, of one of my very good friends, Davis Sezna.

The young man who was killed on the 104th floor of the World Trade Center's Tower II, where he had arrived on September 11th for just his sixth day of work there, was Davis Grier Sezna, Jr., known to his family and to all who loved him as "Deeg." His parents, Gail and Davis Sezna, are community leaders in Delaware; they are people I admire and respect; and, again, they are my good friends. Deeg is also survived by a younger brother, Willy, who is a senior in high school, and by his grandmother, Mrs. W.W. Sezna, his grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. H.G. Ingersoll, and numerous aunts, uncles and cousins and seemingly countless friends.

As inconceivable as it is, Deeg, who was 22 years old, was predeceased by his youngest brother, Teddy, who died

in a boating accident last year at the age of 15. So the Sezna family has been struck twice by the sudden, tragic death of a healthy, vibrant and much loved son, brother and grandson. Like so many of our fellow citizens, they were so full of life, and then they were gone.

As inconceivable as the tragedy is, even more remarkable to me is the way in which the Sezna family has responded to loss that would cripple many people's faith and spirit. When Deeg was still listed as "missing," they held onto hope as long as they could, joining the legions of loved ones in New York, searching hospitals and talking with the rescue workers and local officials, determined to do everything they humanly could, and asking for God's help, for themselves and for others. As Davis said then, "It would be very selfish at a time like this for anyone to just pray for themselves. We need to pray for all of us. We're not in this alone."

When it became undeniable that everything had been done, and that there was no more hope of bringing Deeg home alive, his family continued to reach out to others. This grieving father, who had been in the boat accident in which his youngest son was lost and who had been on the streets of New York searching for his oldest son, this man, who had more reason to feel despair and rage and fear and to just give up than almost anyone, he called me and said, "I will go and stand with you anywhere, any time, any place to tell people, 'Don't be afraid.'"

With those words, Davis Sezna became more than my friend, he became one of my heroes. When you feel like your world is ending, and I don't know what can do that more than the death of a child, there is immeasurable courage behind the power to believe in the future. In one of the great inspirations I have ever known, the Sezna family still believes; as Davis told *Sports Illustrated*, when they interviewed him for a profile on Deeg as one of the athletes killed in the terrorist attacks, all the Seznas have been great golfers, "I live for tomorrow. I'm inspired by tomorrow. There will always be tomorrow."

In our efforts to respond to the events of September 11th, I can think of no higher goal for us as a nation, than to endeavor to justify the Sezna family's courageous faith in tomorrow.

And I ask unanimous consent that the complete text of the *Sports Illustrated* profile be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

[From *Sports Illustrated*, Sept. 24, 2001]

UNPLAYABLE LIES

(By Michael Bamberger)

A father was on the golf course, and his son was at work. The morning was crisp, bright, perfect. Twenty-two-year-old Davis G. Sezna Jr., known as Deeg, was working in the south tower, 2 World Trade Center. His father, Davis Sr., was playing at Pine Hill, a

new public course in southern New Jersey, just down the road from Pine Valley.

"Dad," Deeg would sometimes ask, "do you think someday I'll be Pine Valley material?" Augusta National, Cypress Point, Seminole, Pine Valley. Those are the four sacred corners of the shawl that wraps private-club golf in the U.S. For many of its members, Pine Valley is the ultimate sanctuary, Davis Sezna, 48, is one of those members.

Deeg was employed by another Pine Valley member, Jimmy Dunne, a managing principal at Sandler O'Neill & Partners, a financial-services company. The father made the introduction, but from there the son was on his own. Dunne and Deeg played a round of golf together. Golf reveals a man; that's what Dunne believes, Davis Sr. does too. "Golf's a great interview," he says. Later Deeg came into the office for a sit-down meeting with Dunne and the firm's other principals. Deeg was wearing a suit. He was serious, energetic, respectful. He was offered a job.

"Can I start on May 14, Mr. Dunne?" Deeg asked. In other words, graduate from Vanderbilt on a Friday, take the weekend off, then begin work on Monday.

"No, you cannot," Dunne answered. "Take the summer off. Kiss a pretty girl. You don't have to call me Mr. Dunne, and you don't have to wear a suit."

Deeg took the summer off. He started work the day after Labor Day. Wore a suit every day. Called his boss Mr. Dunne. He will make it here doing something, Jimmy Dunne remembers thinking. Banker, trader, salesman, something. On Sept. 11, Deeg's sixth day on the job, he arrived for work a little after seven.

Deeg's father works in golf. He's an owner of a busy public course outside Philadelphia, Hartefield National, the site of a Senior tour event in 1998 and '99. He's going into business with the owner of Pine Hill, which is why he was there on that beautiful Tuesday morning that so abruptly turned grim and gray. Somebody pulled him off the course when the first plane smashed into the north tower of the World Trade Center. He was watching the terror unfold on TV when the second plane struck his son's building. "I knew Deeg was on the 104th floor," he says. "The plane hit, an hour passed, the building crumpled. A friend drove me home."

The Sezna house is in Delaware, in the rolling countryside outside Wilmington, near the Brandywine River, the pastoral land the Wyeths have been painting for three generations. The kitchen dates to the 17th century. The backyard is a long, sweeping hill, ending at a pond. The three Sezna boys would hit wedge shots and take divots out of that lawn all summer long. Gail Sezna, their mother, would look the other way. Her father-in-law was a superb golfer. Her husband was the 1973 Delaware Open champion. Her sons were being raised in the game as well.

"My dad used to say, 'A golfer is a gentleman,'" Davis Sr. says. "I raised my sons to understand that. The first time I brought Deeg to the course, he was five. As we left, he said, 'Was I a gentleman today, Daddy?'" He dabs his eyes with a napkin embossed with scallop shells.

This was last Thursday, two days after the attack. The father had spent the previous day in the detritus of the World Trade Center, searching for his son. Now he was in his backyard, in the "final innings of hope," as he put it. Friends were visiting. The men were golfers, members of Pine Valley, Seminole, Merion, all clubs to which the father belongs. Sezna also owns several popular restaurants in Delaware. He was pouring good wine and slicing aged cheddar. It only looked like a late-summer cocktail party. The chatter could not mask the sorrow. Tom Fazio,